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ABSTRACT

Research knowledge and reflections about efforts to mobilize participation have been developed in the Netherlands. Research into educational motivations has suggested nine independent motivations among adult learners that can be grouped into three general categories: intrinsic, extrinsic, and conditional educational motivations. An attempt has been made to develop a category system that distinguishes five categories in terms of the educational awareness: active loyalists, active radicals, nonactive, neoactive, and the passive. A relationship has been suggested between an adult's educational awareness and participation in adult education. In the Netherlands, where needs assessment is a required part of educational planning at the local level, a distinction between subjective and objective needs has evolved. Practical problems involved with measuring subjective needs have included limited knowledge of target groups and adults' bad predictions of their own future behavior. Three generic strategies have been used for the mobilization of effective educational demand: information and guidance, outreach, and educational development work. The research has seemed to suggest the neo-active as the new target group for adult education in policy developments. (YLB)

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CONTENTS:

1. Abstract
2. Introduction
3. Educational motivations
4. Participants and non-participants: a classification
5. Needs analysis in the Netherlands
6. The mobilisation of educational demand
7. Some preliminary conclusions

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1. ABSTRACT:

This article is concerned with the degree to which concepts such as "educational motivation" and "educational need" can be helpful to adult educators in the development of a varied local provision of adult education activities. The principle concern is the facilitation of participation by the traditional non-participants and especially those with a limited educational background. The educational motivations of Dutch adults are examined in terms of the differences between those with more and those with less educational experience, and this dichotomy is suggested to provide a limited basis for the development of facilitation measures. The concept of educational need is examined in terms of the distinction between subjective and objective needs, and critically assessed in relation to the facilitation of participation. The authors introduce the idea of "educational awareness" as a central concept in the mobilisation of non-participants. Five categories among Dutch adults are distinguished in terms of their educational awareness in relation to their social situation. It is suggested that differences in educational awareness are crucial to the development of facilitation measures, and that the mobilisation of the non-participants needs to take account of their social situation. The mobilisation of demand among non-participants is regarded by the authors as a question of consciousness raising activities through which individuals and groups are supported in formulating their claims upon scarce educational resources. Three global mobilisation strategies are indicated.

2. INTRODUCTION

The patterns of participation and non-participation in adult education have received wide-spread attention in the international literature. A number of well-known and now almost classic studies, such as that of Johnston and Rivera (1965) have painted a clear picture of the socially unrepresentative nature of participation in adult education. The social patterns of participation and non-participation show great similarities in a large number of advanced industrial countries. In recent years the policy debate in various countries has been dominated by the desire to reach the non-participants, for reasons varying from social justice to the solution of social problems. The requirement for an active policy for adult education is increasingly that of reaching the non-participants and finding measures to facilitate their participation. Much of the literature concerning the characteristics of participants in adult education has been couched in terms of educational motivations and/or learning orientations. The literature concerning specific target groups and their educational needs is rich with discussions of needs analysis. Only very slowly has attention turned to isolating variables which could be of importance in facilitating the participation of the traditional non-participating groups. Indeed there is a distinct dearth of research and theory in this increasingly important area of concern. Much of our limited knowledge of "facilitation strategies" is restricted to reports at the practical level. The literature has been dominated by American and British contributions. Nevertheless, there is a very wide ranging body of research knowledge and practical experience being developed in the non-English speaking European countries - especially in Scandinavia, West Germany and the Netherlands - which very rarely finds its way into the international forum. This article is a partial attempt to rectify this situation with regard to the Netherlands, in which the authors offer a cumulative presentation of the developments of research and reflection about efforts to mobilize participation in adult education. A wide range of issues are touched upon in their treatment of this problem in the specific context of the Netherlands.

3. EDUCATIONAL MOTIVATIONS

The main point of theoretical departure for research into educational motivations has been that of the experimental motivation research tradition. This tradition recognises three main streams of thought and related concepts, and each has its representatives among studies of adult learning motivations. These schools of thought pay attention respectively towards motivations as the result of:

- a) "inner drives";
- b) "positive and negative stimuli";
- c) "socialisation processes".

Most research in the Netherlands has shared this common tradition. The most well-known Dutch research report suggested nine independent motivations among adult learners. The results of the research were consistent for different groups of adults. The identified educational motivations are presented in Table 1, together with the most representative statements.

Table 1 NINE EDUCATIONAL MOTIVATIONS IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE AMONG ADULTS PARTICIPATING IN ADULT EDUCATION, AND WITH MOST REPRESENTATIVES STATEMENTS.

	<u>Motivation</u>	<u>Most representative statements</u>
1.	Social learning	"to hear how others think about things"
2.	Relaxation	"to do something else besides my work"
3.	Occupational improvement	"to improve promotion chances in my work"
4.	Learning for itself	"to fulfill my desire to learn and gain knowledge"
5.	Social responsibility	"to contribute to the general interest"
6.	Personal reflection	"to find myself"
7.	Personal recognition	"to achieve recognition among friends and acquaintances"
8.	Achieve social status	"to be part of a group with prestige"
9.	Political engagement	"to have more influence on public affairs".

(Source: Doerbecker, C. and Van Enckevoort, G., 1972)

A complete clarification of the separation capacity of the motivations isolated would necessitate a presentation of the factor analysis. For present purposes the learning aspect in the motivation "social learning" is not adequately captured in the most characteristic statement, while for the motivation "social responsibility" it is not adequately clear that "general interests" for the respondents ususally refers to their daily circle of social relationships. Likewise the motivation "achieve social status" is mainly associated with general social prestige, while the motivation "personal recognition" is associated with the direct social circle of relations and friends.

These nine separate motivations were grouped by the researchers into three general categories:

- intrinsic educational motivations involving the value of the learning activity itself such as "learning in itself", or "personal reflection";
- extrinsic educational motivations involving a learning goal outside the learning activity itself, such as "occupational improvement", "achieve social status", "personal recognition", and "political engagement";
- conditional educational motivations involving a heavy emphasis upon the conditions in which the learning activity takes place such as "social learning" in a group learning situation.

In the analysis of their data the researchers drew some conclusions which may be regarded as relevant to the issue of attracting the non-participants into adult education.

It appears that the extrinsic and conditional motivations are the most and the intrinsic motivations the least important to the less educated. This suggests that that which is closeby, concrete and specific is preferable to them above that which is distant, abstract and general. For example, "political engagement" is of less importance than "social responsibility" to the immediate social environment. "Personal recognition" among friends and acquaintances is of greater importance than achieving "general social prestige". This would suggest that the idea of general personal development in itself, as we find this embodied in "liberal adult education" is less attractive to those with limited educational experience. The researchers observe that the traditional

non-participants are more likely to be attracted to those educational activities where the results can be directly applied in their daily lives. For them the accent in learning is more frequently placed upon the capacity of learning to help solve problems: the direct problem solving character of educational activity is central.

In his more recent research Boshier (1977) makes a distinction between educational motivations based on Maslow's idea of "growth" and "deficiency". For growth oriented individuals participation in adult education will represent self-actualisation, while for deficiency oriented individuals participation will represent a desire to solve problems. Boshier argues that "Growth or life-space oriented people participate in adult education for expression rather than an attempt to cope with some aspect of their life. Life-chance oriented people participate because of the need to survive and acquire utilitarian knowledge, attitudes and skills". In comparison with the Dutch research life-space orientations could be equated with intrinsic motivations and life-chance orientations with extrinsic motivations. This would appear to concur with recent research in the Scandinavian countries where life-space orientations and intrinsic motivations on the one hand are seen as "non-competence-building" and "development oriented" while life-chance orientations and extrinsic motivations on the other hand are seen as "competence-building" or "life-situation oriented" (Bergsten 1977, Rørslett 1978, Rubensen 1976).

Learning motivations are not biological and autonomous variables but are social and cultural variations. Differences in learning motivations and orientations among adults are the result of complex socialisation processes and are tested in experience. At first glance it would appear that the less educated are on all counts at a disadvantage in terms of motivations. In the first place, many forms of adult education, especially in the liberal tradition, place great emphasis upon intrinsic motivations to learning and assume that learning in itself is satisfying. Such forms of adult education provision are more likely to be attractive to those with more educational experience who belong to the middle socio-economic groups. In the second place the more educated among adults are more often aware that any learning process is accom-

panied by a variety of very different rewards. Those with less educational experience are more likely to place the accent on the capacity of learning to help solve problems. The direct problem-solving capacity of learning is central to their interest in learning. In this regard those with less educational experience are disadvantaged in the sense that they have a more limited view of the more indirect and secondary effects of participation in the long term. As a result of their emphasis upon direct outcomes, there is a greater chance that those with less educational experience will not participate or be disappointed with the experience of participation. There is always the possibility that direct outcomes will not be adequately achieved, and that indirect outcomes will be of less significance to them. Expectations about learning outcomes and the valuation of outcomes could be of importance in the translation of educational motivation into actual participation. It appears from research in a number of European countries that those with the least educational experience regard themselves as having less chance to complete an adult education course. Rørslett (1978), for example, has shown that most female participants choose a re-entry level in adult education which is significantly lower than that which could be expected in terms of their prior educational experience. Furthermore, research has suggested that those with the least educational experience are as a rule less well informed concerning the existing educational opportunities.

Attempts to achieve a better match between the motivations of different groups of adults and the existing forms of adult education need to recognise the very different perspectives towards adult education which pertain among adults.

4. PARTICIPANTS AND NON-PARTICIPANTS: A CLASSIFICATION

It has been suggested above that the less educated have a problematic relationship with the traditional forms of adult education provision. Those with more education are the recurring participants. As Boshier (1977), states "they have a history of participation in adult education; present participation will be connected to participation in the past". The pattern of participation among those with less education is of a more spasmodic or non-existent nature. However, it would be a serious

over-simplification to suggest that the differences between those with more and those with less educational experience provide an adequate basis for attempts to improve participation.

There are "critical" individuals among the more educated who purposefully distance themselves from adult education, while there are those among the less educated who are indeed active participants. Among those with less educational experience there are those who do not participate in adult education until they are confronted by a problem such as long-term unemployment, while others faced with a multitude of problems do not participate. At various points in the life-cycle, individuals in different social situations form differing viewpoints regarding the utility of adult education for them at that specific point in time and in that specific social situation. Motivational patterns are expressed by individuals in very specific decisions about very specific course offerings. Attempts to facilitate the participation of the traditional non-participants need to take account of motivational states such as enthusiasm, critical distance, apathy, indifference and plain uncertainty in relation to adult education. A limited number of empirical research studies in Germany and the Netherlands have formulated these motivational patterns with regard to adult education in terms of "educational awareness" and "educational consciousness". In these studies educational awareness is regarded as the perceptions of individuals and groups towards adult education: the frames of reference through which they perceive adult education as being of relevance or not to the problems in their social situation. In the following an attempt is made to develop a category system which distinguishes five categories of adults in terms of their educational awareness. The categories are based on a secondary analysis of various research reports on participation and non-participation in adult education, and were developed in a study of facilitation strategies by the present authors (Doerbecker and Hake 1978), and has been applied to date in one empirical study (Doerbecker and Hake 1979). The presentation here is a shortened version of the extensive treatment in the research reports. A number of other empirical studies suggest that the categories do possess a useful heuristic value for empirical studies. An independent empirical study by Schulenberg et al. (1980) based on a sample of 18,000 German adults produced a very similar system of categories. In the descriptive treatment of the

category system the emphasis is placed upon variables such as their educational background, work situation, use of leisure, and use of other social-cultural institutions. Research suggests that such variables are indicators of activity and non-activity in adult education and thus of educational awareness.

The categories are referred to respectively as the active loyalists, active radicals, non-active, neo-active, and the passive.

- The active loyalists

This category among adults consists mainly of those in the middle socio-economic categories with an education at college level or above. They have mainly middle and higher level management, technical or scientific jobs, and are loyal to the dominant value system in our achievement oriented society. They are active in relation to adult education and other forms of social and cultural activities. Spontaneous and regular participation is most frequent among this category. Their social situation is not characterized by material problems, and indeed their economic welfare is of a high level. They are mainly interested in non-pragmatic forms of adult education such as liberal education, personal development and general cultural interests.

We include in this category the active participants in adult education from among the less educated because in general they attribute the same value to participation. Their interests are, however, more directed towards creative use of leisure time, but are nevertheless coloured by non-competence building or development oriented motivations.

- The active radicals

This second category forms probably a small minority of adults, especially those who are most actively engaged in radical or critical educational movements. This radical category has a long and rich tradition in those forms of adult education which are informed by social criticism and associated with social movements. They are mainly interested in consciousness raising and politically oriented educational activities. The active radicals are associated with social emancipation type activities and have been of influence in recent years in the emancipation movements of various social groups, especially among women in the Netherlands. Life-space type motivations play a strong role in

their participation, and they tend to regard pragmatic elements in adult education as supporting the existing social order. Problematic here are: the relation between social criticism and social action, the relationship of active radicals with the working class movement, and their non-pragmatic orientation in the face of the apparent pragmatism of their coalition allies in the lower socio-economic groups.

- The non-active

The non-active do not participate in adult education and are most unlikely to do so in the near future. They are the largest group among the non-participants. Research seems to show a relation between little interest for adult education and a use of free time characterised by a limited scope of activities in the direct family circle. They illustrate a passive attitude towards participation in sport and use of the mass media. There are limited forms of social engagements outside the family circle and neighbourhood among the non-active, and their participation in social and cultural facilities is limited. In their own eyes their social situation is not regarded as representing any major problems, although in objective terms they enjoy a lower level of economic welfare than the middle classes. They have only a limited degree of influence upon the dominant value system but recognise and accept the existing social structure and its value system. In this respect they too are loyal to the system, although they benefit less from it in direct material terms.

- the neo-active

The neo-active are not by tradition participants in adult education, and in that sense share the same social and educational background as the non-active. The reasons for their newfound interest in adult education - thus the nature of their neo-activity - are to be found in changing social circumstances which influence their personal social situation. Social, technological and cultural changes produce problems which the neo-active have not previously experienced, and these problems stimulate their potential interest in adult education. Their disadvantage in terms of a limited educational background, is compounded by such problems as structural unemployment among older workers, young adults who cannot get jobs, older married women who want to get out of

the domestic situation when their children leave home, older workers approaching the retirement age. Their interest in adult education is based upon the idea that educational experience may help solve their problems. Their motivations are strongly extrinsic and life-chance oriented, and their interest is in competence building educational activities.

- the passive

This category is comprised of individuals, families and indeed whole neighbourhoods who are seriously disadvantaged. Theirs is not a situation characterized by disadvantage in terms of education alone, but by multiple disadvantage. We are talking here of inner city areas, characterized by bad housing, high unemployment, single-parent families, low income, and poor educational facilities, etc. It appears necessary to regard those who find themselves in such social situations as a separate category in relation to provisions for adult education. We use the term passive in regard to their relation to adult education quite deliberately, but without any intention to stigmatise them or to resort to social labelling. Their passivity for us rests in their non-participation in adult education and the absence on their part of an idea that adult education may be of relevance to their very serious and complex problems. Given that most traditional adult education ignores them and their existence, their non-participation and lack of interest may be perfectly rational. They are in the words of London and Stern (1979) "the forgotten people" in most discussions about adult education.

The distinction between five categories among Dutch adults in terms of their educational awareness and potential participation in adult education can be relevant to an analysis of educational policy in the Netherlands and attempts to expand adult education provision. The more practical consequences will be discussed in terms of measures to facilitate participation, and it will be sufficient here to outline some potential consequences of a policy analysis. Traditional forms of adult education provision have increasingly become mainly attractive to the active loyalists, including those institutions which were historically intended for the neo-active and non-active categories in society. The middle class take-over through the years of educational movements such as the Workers Educational Association in Britain and the Institute for Workers Education in the Netherlands are well documented by historical

research. The "hardening of the arteries" process among originally radical forms of adult education has to a degree been rejuvenated by new alternative forms of provision for the active deloyalists. A good example of this process in the Netherlands is to be found among the women's educational movement and the rise of new radical groups during the 1970's. The current line in official government policy is to emphasize the educational needs of those adults belonging to the neo-active. There is a great deal of discussion of the new target groups. Two recent advisory committees have concentrated upon the needs of the neo-active category in terms of their identification of target groups among the traditional non-active whose situation has become problematic. The Open School experiment between 1977 and 1980 has concentrated on adults with no more than two years of secondary education. This rather large group was further sub-divided into three target groups, namely the young adults between 18 and 30 years of age, married women, and working adults above 45 years of age. Various reports of this advisory committee, and the Committee on Local Educational Networks, emphasize among others the needs of the unemployed, cultural minorities, illiterates, and those close to the pension age. Greater emphasis upon the needs of the neo-active is to be preferred to the continued dominance of the active loyalists and active deloyalists. The issue is whether policy at the same time is also directed to the problems and needs of the non-active and the passive. Our attention for the now fashionable target groups among the neo-active may achieve little in narrowing the educational gap between the active and the non-active or passive. Of greater importance is the way in which educational need is determined, by whom, and its relationship to the level of educational awareness of the groups concerned.

5. NEEDS ANALYSIS IN THE NETHERLANDS

The literature on adult education has paid considerable attention to the concept of "need". Monette (1977) has argued that "much of the popular thinking about needs has been rather fuzzy". This is certainly true in the Netherlands where needs analysis is a required part of educational planning at the local government level. In the Dutch literature on this subject there is a clear tendency to distinguish between

subjective and objective needs. This distinction can be stated as follows: "Subjective needs are experienced by individuals and groups as deficiencies in terms of knowledge, skills and attitudes which are more or less easily expressed as a manifest demand for adult education, but which are sometimes not expressed. Objective needs are identified by third parties in the problem situations of individuals and groups in the present or the future".

In the context of local educational planning in the Netherlands local authorities are required to undertake an analysis of subjective and objective educational needs. This is a requirement of the subsidy system. What does the literature offer us in the way of assistance?

McKinley (1973) distinguishes three diagnostic models for needs analysis. This first model concerns felt or manifest needs of the individual which coincides more or less with ideas about subjective need. This so-called "individual self fulfillment" model involves distributing information about the existing course offerings and waiting to see who turns up to enroll for the classes. A more direct analysis of needs is possible through undertaking a survey of needs among the population. Suffice it to say that we are here caught up in the vicious circle of measuring the manifest needs of those who are able or willing to register their subjective awareness of need.

McKinley's second model is that of "selective appeal". This model is clearly based upon the idea of needs analysis of specific categories of individuals and groups by third parties. As Monette argues "selective appeal focusses on the presumed needs of a known segment of the population e.g., functional illiterates, women, retirees". This would show clear agreement with the current Dutch approach to objective needs analysis especially in relation to the target groups. Such analysis of objective needs are mainly based upon the results of research, and the insights of experts. They are usually followed by testing educational programmes on selected populations among the target groups, and the standardization of proven educational materials. The Open School is a clear example of this approach in the Netherlands. A variation upon the selective appeal model is the "community study" and the "community survey" while these approaches are comparable with the "social mapping" of specific target groups in Dutch planning practice.

McKinley's third model is the "systems discrepancy model". We are here concerned with the needs of social systems and the difference between the prevailing and the desired or expected state of the system. Within the system discrepancy model there are variations possible, on the one hand directed to the problem solving capacity of the client system in the "problem need model", and on the other hand directed to the improved functioning of the client system in the "goal identification model". It is difficult to identify uses of these models in adult education in the Netherlands. However, should we adopt the approach of Knowles (1973) then we are most likely to find the goal identification model as the means of needs analysis in task-oriented organisations, such as the analysis of training needs in industrial, business and administrative organisations.

The educational plans prepared by local authorities in the Netherlands are indicative of the practical problems involved with measuring subjective and objective educational needs among the adult population. The often heard plea for more needs analysis based upon the measurement of needs ignores a number of essential problems concerned with the concept of need and its measurement. In the first place knowledge of the target groups is limited in many ways. The potential educational consumer is not easily able to estimate the benefit of his participation in a specific course. Educational consumption is not characterized by the decision to "buy" a specific course, but by a continuous reassessment based on experience with the educational "product". The social situation in which needs assessment under a target group takes place is very different to the educational situation in which eventual education activities take place. It is very often quite unclear which educational course is best fitted to meet which educational need. Most adults have a limited view of the total provision of adult education, which can seriously limit their estimation of a matching educational activity. Last but not least, the educational activity in itself is a very complex reality with more unknown than known factors, especially for the uninitiated.

In the second place, it is necessary to point out that even given the most positive conditions for a needs analysis of subjective needs e.g. a clear formulation of what one wants to learn and what is available, most adults are very bad predictors of their own future beha-

viour. Research in the Netherlands (Bokma and Doerbecker, 1977) into needs analysis has illustrated the possible shortcomings of subjective assessments among adults. Many adults expressed their manifest interest in certain courses but did not turn up, while others expressed no manifest interest but did turn up on enrolment night. Some adults expressed an interest in course A but enrolled for course B. The reverse was also true, while many potential A and B course students turned up at course C and D etc. Other research has shown that the same course can satisfy very different subjective needs, and that similar needs can be fulfilled in different courses.

And what to do with objective needs? What can we do with objective educational needs identified by third parties when there is no question of an experienced need among the target group. What is being measured? Problem situations identified by others are not always expressed in the manifest needs of the target groups themselves. Do we resort here to advanced marketing techniques to sell our educational products to potential consumer groups? Educational needs are not somewhere "out there", not the easy prey of methods of needs analysis and they are certainly not well defined and easy to identify. Above all, the concept of need has little direct value when it is not brought into relation with political priorities which play a role in decisions about which courses and which groups among the adult population should be preferable to others? Monette (1977) has argued that "the concept of need is an attractive one in adult education because it appears, by its straightforward appeal to empirically determined facts, to obviate the educator's responsibility for making value judgements, thereby escaping arguments about values" While not necessarily in agreement with his argument that adult educators are the most appropriate group to make value judgements about priorities in educational provision, it is necessary to recognise that technical procedures for needs analysis are not only subject to major methodological limitations, but that needs analysis is not an a-political activity.

6. THE MOBILIZATION OF EDUCATIONAL DEMAND

It is important to refrain from viewing the concepts of motivation and need as the same as each other, and to confuse them with the concept of

demand. To do this, is to confuse the issue concerning participation and non-participation. In terms of developing practical facilitation strategies to improve participation, the concept of demand is of greater relevance. The all too well established differences in participation are first and foremost to be found in the unequal distribution of demand upon adult education resources among adults. It is this unequal distribution of demand which we measure with traditional forms of needs analysis at the subjective level of expressed need. When the so-called objective needs are introduced into needs analysis we cannot refer to a demand upon resources. This gives rise to a view upon facilitation strategies which directs attention towards mobilizing the demand upon resources. Objective needs are non-negotiable commodities in the market place relationship between the demand for and supply of adult education. Moreover, patterns of demand for adult education are not constants but everchanging in terms of changing states of awareness and perception concerning adult education. This requires in our view a definitive break with the idea of objective needs as defined by third parties as an adequate means of facilitating participation. This also requires that we modify ideas of demand as a constant variable in the demand- supply paradigm known to economics.

Demand comprises the actual claims of individuals and groups upon educational resources, and we can recognise differences between social categories in terms of their capacity to express a demand. This necessitates that we regard demand as an expression of educational consciousness in relation to their social situation and the ways in which they perceive education in that situation. In the sense that demand as voiced by individuals and groups is a product of educational consciousness, we may regard the mobilisation of demand as consciousness-raising activities with adults. We view this consciousness-raising in concrete social situations as an educational process in itself during which adults are supported in developing their educational awareness, specifying the forms of adult education which they want, and formulating their specific claims on educational resources. In other words, we view the resolution of the participation problem in terms of educational activities which make it possible for adults to express their own claims on educational resources and find entry to the adult education which they want, rather than in terms of recruiting them to courses which are

of importance to the providing institutions and provided on the basis of assessments of their supposed needs. In this sense, consciousness-raising activities and educational marketing are fundamentally opposed concepts of what adult education is about and its potential purpose in the lives of adults.

Our earlier categorisation of Dutch adults was based upon variations in educational consciousness in relation to adult education, and the diverse influences upon participation and non-participation. We have now suggested that the mobilisation of demand needs to be based upon the educational consciousness of these different categories of adults. This indicates that different strategies for the mobilisation of demand will be necessary for the categories suggested. A review of the international literature (Doerbecker and Hake, 1978) suggests three generic strategies for the mobilisation of effective demand. These three strategies suggest no more at the present than an heuristic model for discriminating between the very diverse facilitation activities to be found in the literature. We refer to these generic mobilisation strategies as "information and guidance", "outreach" and "educational development work".

With regard to educational "information and guidance" we refer to the various methods available for supplying information and providing guidance to adults about the existing provision of adult education. In practice this involves the straight forward provision of information through various media, education information shops, advisory services, and various forms of educational guidance and counselling. We are here largely concerned with traditional approaches to improving recruitment in adult education, whereby there is a known educational provision which we seek to bring to the potential clients. We would like to stress the basic limitations of this approach to mobilisation and prefer to regard it as only a partial solution to the participation problem. Information and guidance are in our view of most use to those who are already to a greater or lesser degree conscious of a felt need for adult education and who are seeking their way into the supply of adult education courses. This means that improved information and guidance services will in general do little more than facilitate the ongoing search process among categories such as the active loyalists and the active radicals. Furthermore, the use of certain channels of information and the limited access to educational guidance facilities reinforce this tendency - they

tend in the main to reach the already active and reinforce their advantaged position. That there are problems in this area and room for improvement cannot be denied. That improved provision of information and guidance can be effective is beyond doubt as witnessed by diverse research projects. We would nevertheless argue that such changes are most beneficial to specific categories of adults, and represent only marginal solutions to the participation issue in adult education. The fashionable brokerage approaches in adult education can be regarded as no more than a technical improvement to long-known practices of most institutions. It can, furthermore, be argued that the wider provision of information requires a necessary back-up guidance and support if it is to be effective. The success of the mass media in the Adult Literacy Programme in England can be seen as being dependent upon a national referral system. It can also be argued that the formal provision of information and guidance are largely dependent for their effects on the influence of informal processes which influence the use of information and the actual decision arrived at. Our own research (Doerbecker and Hake, 1979) suggests that being able to informally chat with a friend or neighbour with relevant educational experience is of vital significance in the decision to participate or not. We would suggest, therefore, that improved systems of information and guidance may have a potential influence upon adults with a more or less developed interest in adult education, but also a complex of informal influences will determine their use of information and guidance in specific situations.

Under "outreach work" as a mobilisation strategy we refer to a wide range of activities directed to reaching specific categories of adults. We are mainly concerned here with the traditional non-participants who have been increasingly declared in recent years to be the new target groups for adult education. Various forms of outreach have been developed in different countries geared to the varying categories among the "neo-active". In some cases outreach is based on reducing physical and psychological barriers to participation for specific groups. This can involve the time and the place of the course, crèche facilities, study facilities during working hours, and more neighbourhood facilities for learning. Another variation is the use of contact persons in the direct environment of the potential participants who can approach them person-

all at home, at the workplace, or in clubs and associations. The Scandinavian countries have a great deal of experience with this approach to outreach and particularly the use of trade union representatives in the work place. In Britain we tend to find the appointment of outreach workers who work in local neighbourhoods to contact specific groups of non-participants. In the Netherlands the emphasis in outreach type activities tends to be placed on other professionals such as social workers, community workers, neighbourhood medical workers, church workers etc. The essence of outreach can be seen as the personal contact with individuals in specific target groups through contact persons, whether professionally or voluntarily, who know their situation and possible problems and can help them get in touch with potential forms of adult education. On the one hand, this can bring the neo-active into contact with existing forms of provision, while, on the other hand, it can lead to claims for new provision which is not being offered. In both forms it presents new opportunities for supporting the neo-active among the traditional non-participants to find their way into adult education. Outreach does not necessarily lead to radical changes in institutional approaches to the type of courses offered, but it can have this result. Reducing the yearly "enrolment trauma" through outreach to specific groups, modifying class times, using near-to-home facilities, are still quite radical changes in terms of institutional adult education.

At the other extreme we find co-operation between outreach workers and other community workers in exploring the potential demand among non-participant categories at neighbourhood level being questioned as being "a form of social or community work and not being adult education". In our view outreach work entails such an exploration of where adult education starts and ends, and may bring with it a necessary blurring of professional areas of activity such as adult education and community work and their potential fruitful collaboration. The wide-ranging body of experience and knowledge which has been built up in Scandinavia and Britain does tend to suggest that the mobilisation of non-participants through outreach requires a long-term approach, involves much effort and frustration, and does not produce quick successes. Nonetheless, we do view outreach work as a strategy which is most appropriate - certainly in its most limited forms - to the situation of the neo-active where

the experience of specific problem situations at an individual level may be the spur to interest in adult education.

Where the experience of problem situations, and the increasing awareness of the potential role of adult education in solving such problems arising during outreach work leads to a collective awareness, we are confronted with those mobilisation activities which we regard as "educational development work". We find here efforts to develop collective consciousness of the potential role of adult education in solving some of the problems of social groups in local communities. Such consciousness raising efforts may be based on the work situation, the family situation, the housing block, the street, etc. Educational development work seeks to identify in these situations what we refer to as "educational moments", i.e., those aspects of problems for which adult education may form a solution. In this sense we make a clear distinction between community development as a more general strategy and educational development work as a more specific strategy which may or may not be part of community development. We are very much concerned here with out-of-school education or nonformal learning, in the sense that educational development work bases learning on the ongoing processes in the community. It seeks to help in giving form and content to the effective demand for adult education, and, thereafter, creating the most appropriate provision of education. The emphasis here changes radically from trying to get people into adult education towards getting adult education to people in those forms in which they can use it. This entails developing the forms of provision most appropriate to the concrete problems which people are collectively dealing with in communities, groups, neighbourhood associations, action groups, etc. It also requires the necessary co-operation between adult education agencies with other agencies for social and community work in the development of demand and seeing that the demand is effectively met, even when this means creating new forms of provision and the by-passing of more traditional adult educational agencies. Flexibility to changing demand, the ad hoc nature of such provision, and being close to the grass-roots are clear characteristics of this type of work. There will be variations in the degree to which educational development work co-operates with existing agencies for adult education and community work, and in the degree to which such development work in adult education is directed to the non-organized or the already organized groups (Mee, 1980).

In the international literature we can in the most general terms identify three varieties of educational development work.

"Community education" has become rather an amorphous nomenclature in recent years for a wide range of activities directed to creating more access for non-participants in adult education and cultural facilities, and is often referred to as "social-cultural animation" in the European literature. The dominance of the access issue in much community education has led some critics to question the use of "community" as an organisational concept in such activities. The emphasis in many community education activities upon the mobilisation of individuals rather than community groups suggests above all its relevance to the neo-active and the non-active among potential adult learners.

"Community action" is characterized by mobilisation activities which build on semi-organised and organised groups at the neighbourhood level. The mobilisation effort here is directed to the identification of learning moments in social action among residents groups, parents groups, environmental groups, etc., and the stimulation of consciousness raising through popular concern with issues.

"Community development" is concerned with many more problems than the educational needs of adults in community and neighbourhood settings (Lovett, 1975). Nevertheless, recent experience in community development programmes has suggested that there is a very real educational development potential to be found in community development activities concerned with chronic unemployment, bad housing, poor schooling, overcrowding, etc. It seeks to identify the potential contribution of adult education as a specific component of community development. The mobilisation of educational consciousness in the context of community development can place more or less emphasis upon awareness of the structural relationships which produce the problems faced in specific neighbourhoods.

7. SOME PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing we have in the first place reviewed the relevance of the concepts "motivation" and "need" to participation and non-participation in adult education. Secondly, we have emphasised the importance of social influences and the specific social situation of adults upon the expression of motivation and need among various groups of adults to-

wards adult education. We have thirdly stressed the potential significance of "educational consciousness" in the development of individual and collective claims upon educational resources by the traditional non-participants. The interplay between social situation and educational consciousness led us to suggest three global strategies for the mobilisation of educational consciousness, and that these strategies are more or less effective in working with different social categories among adults. At the most general level our approach suggests that the traditional recruitment methods in adult education will have to undergo major changes and a radical rethink of the participation and non-participation issue. We need to know much more about the total social situation in which adults live out their daily lives and the social activities and issues which are of importance to them. Involvement with the educational moments in the lives of adults is a necessary prerequisite for attempts to raise educational consciousness and to develop claims upon adult education. This entails that adult education institutions will need to undertake more exploratory activities, become better acquainted with the non-participants, and fundamentally rethink the ways in which they arrive at decisions about course offerings. The mobilisation of educational awareness and new claims upon adult education suggest that negotiation between demand and supply will become more important. Adult education institutions will be increasingly required to negotiate with new client groups with regard to what they provide.

The recognition of the new target groups for adult education in recent policy developments in the Netherlands, illustrates some of the problems which we have sought to raise in this article. In terms of educational motivations we can identify a major problem of deciding which claims upon different and often competing types of adult education are to be promoted and which educational motivations among adults are to be encouraged. Traditional forms of providing liberal adult education have tended in the main to stress intrinsic motivations to learning and have achieved little contact with individuals beyond the already active loyalists. As Bell and Courtenay (1979) have argued, there is an increasing tendency in the expansionist view of adult education to support extrinsic motivations. Pragmatic claims for second chance education in terms of its remedial and compensatory functions in the Netherlands are

clearly based upon extrinsic motivations and is of little use in making decisions about which groups of adults should receive priority in adult education and which types of adult education we should support. It is also possible that too simplistic confrontations between intrinsic and extrinsic motivations can all too clearly lead to arguments for different kinds of education for different kinds of adults. On the one hand, this can encourage traditional forms of provision to maintain their "essential" intrinsic learning identity in the face of the pragmatist challenge with its claims for extrinsic concerns in adult education. On the other hand expansionist institutions may be attracted by fashionable educational activities appealing to extrinsic concerns for which governments are prepared to provide funds. In both reactions there is a danger that little real change in the existing forms of adult education will be brought about and that the more difficult to reach adults will not be reached.

It is all too easy for intrinsic and extrinsic motivations to be used as legitimations for politically determined choices about "who should get what?" in adult education, rather than informing such choices. Furthermore, the intrinsic and extrinsic motivations of adult learners should not too easily be allowed to determine educational content as such. Motivations are propensities to learning and should not be confused with lower order concepts such as "learning orientations" or "learning interests" which are more directly related to educational content. There are no a priori reasons why studies of working class history should not be used to inform practical action based on historical insight in social action, or why basic literacy work should not lead to writers' workshops and community publishing ventures. So far as we are concerned it seems necessary from the viewpoint of developing facilitation strategies to examine more closely how differences in participation in adult education are due either to differences in the social situation or to differences in frames of reference. This means that the five categories suggested here will vary in their consciousness of adult education because they have different problems or may perceive the same problems differently. This entails that participation and non-participation in adult education is a complex interaction between motivations as socialised propensities and social situations. The relevance of educational motivations to mobilisation strategies is based upon the recognition that motivations are socially situated. Distinctions between intrinsic and extrinsic

motivations as the basis of educational provision for new target groups is in the long-term open to suspicion.

This issue returns to the foreground in terms of the distinction between subjective and objective needs which prevails in the Netherlands and the highly problematic use of such terms in the ideological legitimization of the needs of different social categories and groups in political decisions. The distinction between subjective and objective needs demonstrates elements of a distinction between individual needs and societal needs. Subjective needs refer to the manifest needs of individuals in social situations and can to a greater or lesser extent of objectivity and validity be assessed through statements of felt need by individuals. Objective needs refer to the unexpressed needs of individuals associated with social situations which are defined by others than those directly concerned, and are as such unfelt needs. Are we actually referring with such objective unfelt needs to the functional needs of the societal system? Are we at the same time defining specific target groups as being in need of adult education because of changes in the social environment when they are themselves not conscious of these changes, or the associated needs? This is an unlucky mixture of the concept of need in its descriptive form as a statement of an existing situation, and its prescriptive form as a statement of desirable change in that situation. Such implicit changes in the meaning of need become highly problematic when we base prescriptions for change in educational provision for the neo-active upon changes in their social situation when they are not necessarily aware of their existing situation as being problematic.

Can we, for example, facilitate participation by these target groups among the neo-active without resorting to technical measures geared to convincing them of "their need" for forms of educational provision which others have already determined for them. This is the very reason why we have preferred to develop the idea of demand instead of subjective and objective needs. New demands can be developed through mobilisation activities and the resulting claims can be expressed and used in negotiation with educational institutions in the same way as subjective need so functions.

The problem of new target groups remains when attention is redirected to the concept of educational consciousness and the categori-

sation of adults in terms of their present levels of awareness towards adult education. As already suggested above, Dutch government policy currently stresses the priority of new target groups which can be regarded as being neo-active. In relation to adult education such target groups can be characterised as having an "emerging awareness" of its possible benefit for their problem situations. This emerging consciousness and its increasing expression in demands for new forms and the modification of existing forms of provision, is being increasingly used to support arguments for improved information and advisory services, and the extension of outreach activities based on improving access to adult education. Given that specific social, economic, cultural and technological changes in Dutch society are producing social problems, one can expect an increasing number of social categories to be identified whose social situation is characterised as being problematic in addition to the handicap of limited education. When the emerging awareness of such categories is gradually transformed into claims upon scarce resources, the government will necessarily have to choose between competing claims.

The expected tendency is for such categories among the neo-active to dominate the adult education policy debate in the next few years. Greater emphasis upon the neo-active categories is an improvement upon the continued dominance of the active loyalists and active radicals. A perpetuation of many widely accepted approaches to adult education provision can only widen the educational gap between the "haves" and "have nots" in adult education. Nonetheless, an excessive concentration upon the emerging neo-active and the direction of facilitation activities to mobilising their emerging awareness of adult education has its negative side. It could result - in the interests of political expediency and educational fashion - that little is achieved in exploring the adult education potential among the non-active and the passive. As suggested above the mobilisation of educational consciousness through strategies such as information and advice and outreach will do little to arouse their educational awareness. Attention paid to the neo-active categories will achieve little in terms of closing the educational gap between the active, the non-active and the passive. The present policy of decentralising political control over adult education in the Netherlands, offers the possibility of increased efforts at the local level to develop mobilisation activities with such groups close to their social

situations. Indeed this was one of the main aims of the decentralisation policy at the onset, together with improved co-operation between formal, non-formal and informal forms of adult education.

There is a tendency in the subsequent planning of local provision of adult education to emphasise a more efficient structure for and improved access to the supply side of the equation. The exploration of potential demand for adult education and consciousness raising activities in the social situations of the non-active and the passive seems to be receiving little attention.

Differences of opinion on these points is to be found in the experience of other countries. Mee and Wiltshire (1978) have specifically argued that too much attention for the new found disadvantaged among the neo-active could draw scarce resources in adult education away from the large middle group of manual workers and their families who remain untouched by mainstream provision, and are not the objects of new concerns for the disadvantaged. This is clearly a plea for the non-active. Thompson et al. (1980) argue that the creation of new neo-active categories educationally disadvantaged adults could divert attention from the creation of educational awareness among social groups in situations of severe multiple social disadvantage. This is clearly a plea for the passive. In terms of the arguments presented here it would seem that the road to negotiating their claims upon adult education on the basis of changing educational consciousness will be a long road as far as the non-active and the passive are concerned. The emphasis in future research into facilitating participation among non-participants will be in our case be placed upon the complexities of "educational development work", the various forms of this mobilising strategy and the constituent activities involved.

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